1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not infrequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were individually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.